

## Message Text

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ORIGIN AF-18

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RSC-01 USIA-15 PRS-01 SPC-03 AID-20 IO-14 OMB-01

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS:BY, PFOR

SUBJECT: NY TIMES ARTICLE ON BURUNDI

1. NY TIMES MARCH 1 OPED PAGE HAS ROGER MORSE ARTICLE ENTITLED "TRIUMPH OF MONEY AND POWER" LINKING DISCOVERY OF NICKEL DEPOSITS TO RESUMPTION OF AID TO BURUNDI. FULL TEXT BEING POUCHED. KEY PARAGRAPHS FOLLOW:

A) WASHINGTON - U.S. GOVERNMENT SECRETLY DECIDED LAST MONTH TO RESUME AID TO THE SMALL CENTRAL AFRICAN COUNTRY OF BURUNDI DESPITE OFFICIAL INTELLIGENCE CONFIRMING THAT ETHNIC GENOCIDE BY THE BURUNDIAN REGIME CONTINUED TO TAKE "THOUSANDS" IN 1973.

B) AUTHORIZED BY PRESIDENT NIXON ON JAN. 29, THE "NORMALIZATION" IS REPORTEDLY DESIGNED TO "INCREASE U.S. INFLUENCE OVER THE FINAL DISPOSITION" OF 14 BILLION DOLLARS IN NICKEL JUST DISCOVERED IN BURUNDI.

C) DURING THE 1972 KILLINGS, THE STATE DEPARTMENT SUSPENDED UNCLASSIFIED

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A 100,000 DOLLAR AID FUND AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES. BUT THE

U.S. CONTINUED TO BUY BURUNDI'S COFFEE, ACCOUNTING FOR 65 PER CENT OF THE EXPORT EARNINGS OF THE FUTSI REGIME. WASHINGTON NEVER SPOKE OUT TO DESCRIBE OR CONDEMN THE GENOCIDE-"FRUSTRATED," AS ONE OFFICIAL COMPLAINED, "BY THE ABSENCE OF A SUITABLE OPPORTUNITY."

D) IN OCTOBER, 1972, THE U.S. TOLD BURUNDI PRIVATELY THAT BURUNDI COULD NOT EXPECT "NORMAL OFFICIAL RELATIONS" UNTIL A "GENUINE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION" TOOK PLACE; THIS MEANT A CONTINUED SUSPENSION OF AID AND EXCHANGES. THIS POLICY OF "MINIMAL RELATIONS" HAS SINCE BEEN REAFFIRMED PUBLICLY.

E) THE 1973 KILLINGS WERE IN REPRISAL FOR FOUR FUTILE INCURSIONS BY REBEL HUTU REFUGEES FROM MARCH TO DECEMBER, 1973. OFFICIALS SAY THAT THE U.S. EMBASSY HAD REPORTED THOSE KILLINGS AS "AUTHORIZED, CONDONED OR PARTICIPATED IN" BY THE TUTSI REGIME. "SEVERAL THOUSAND HUTUS WERE KILLED, AN OFFICIAL SOURCE SAID.

F) YET THE U.S. WILL NOW RENEW THE 100,000 DOLLAR AID, GIVE 52,500 DOLLARS FOR THREE BURUNDIAN-RUN MATERNITY CLINICS, AND REINSTITUTE CULTURAL EXCHANGES.

G) OFFICIAL SOURCES SAY THAT A JAN. 11 POLICY PAPER RATIONALIZES THE AID AS GIVING "INCREASED CREDIBILITY" TO PRO-WESTERN MODERATES IN BURUNDI, BUT THE PAPER IS ALSO SAID TO CONCLUDE THAT PROGRESS TOWARD "RACIAL STABILIZATION IS "VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE," WITH THE REGIME CONTINUING "TO USE BRUTAL FORCE" TO MAINTAIN ITSELF.

H) CORPORATE PRESSURE TO CHANGE U.S. POLICY IN BURUNDI HAS BEEN "STEADY BUT SUBTLE," SAYS ONE SOURCE. COMPANIES ARE NOT IN A "GOOD COMPETITIVE POSITION DUE TO PRESENT POLICY," AN OFFICIAL MEMO IS SAID TO CONCLUDE.

I) "IMPROVING RELATIONS HAS BEEN A MAJOR POINT OF INTEREST," SAID A DIPLOMAT, "WHenever THE COMPANIES TALK TO US, AND THAT'S ALL THE TIME."

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J) IN ANY CASE, THE POLICY PAPER REPORTEDLY ARGUES THAT THE NEW AID WILL "INCREASE U.S. INFLUENCE" OVER THE NICKEL, WHILE COOL RELATIONS OFFER ONLY "SOME POSSIBILITY" OF U.S. EXPLOITATION.

K) THERE IS ALSO APPARENTLY A STRONG BUREAUCRATIC FACTOR IN THE POLICY CHANGE. THE NEW AID IS "BOTH USEFUL AND NECESSARY," OFFICIALS QUOTE THE POLICY PAPER AS

SAYING, "BECAUSE IT IS DIFFICULT OVER TIME TO MAINTAIN A LARGE DIPLOMATIC ESTABLISHMENT IN BURUNDI WITHOUT ANY APPARENT SUBSTANTIVE RAISON D'ETRE, IN THE MIDST OF AN AUTISTIC AND SUSPICIOUS SOCIETY."

L) U.S. OFFICIALS SEE THE POPULATION-CONTROL IMPACT OF THE MATERNITY CLINICS "AS A MODEL OF WHAT CAN BE DONE

IN OVERPOPULATED PREDOMINANTLY CATHOLIC COUNTRIES." BUT OTHER SOURCES SAY THAT BIRTH CONTROL IN BURUNDI WOULD BE DIRECTED BY THE CATHOLIC TUTSIS AGAINST THE PREDOMINANTLY PROTESTANT HUTUS. NO ONE HAS APPARENTLY QUESTIONED THE PROPRIETY OF U.S. FUNDING FOR POPULATION-CONTROL MEASURES BY A REGIME THAT HAS PURSUED A DELIBERATE POLICY OF ETHNIC KILLING.

M. BUT A STATE DEPARTMENT MEMORANDUM IS SAID TO HAVE ASSURED PRESIDENT NIXON IN MID-JANUARY THAT THE TUTSI REGIME "HAS REFRAINED FROM TAKING REPRISALS" AGAINST HUTUS, AND THAT "NORMALIZATION" WOULD "PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES FOR AMERICAN CORPORATIONS."

N. THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL REPORTEDLY SENT BACK THE PRESIDENT'S APPROVAL ON JAN. 29 TO "BEGIN THE NORMALIZATION" WITH A "MODEST ALLOCATION" OF MONEY "PREDICATED ON CONTINUED EVIDENCE THAT BURUNDI IS FOLLOWING A NATIONAL POLICY OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS."

O) THE JAN. 11 POLICY PAPER REPORTEDLY DISMISSES THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE AND AMERICAN PUBLIC CONCERN AS A CONTINUING COMPLICATION" FOR U.S. DIPLOMATS. " THE U.S.," IT CONCLUDES, "HAS PROVED ITS POINT (I.E. ITS REPUGNANCE TOWARD WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN BURUNDI) FOR BOTH DOMESTIC UNCLASSIFIED

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AND BURUNDIAN CONSUMPTION." CASEY

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